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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY AND BUSINESS ANNOUNCEMENTS.

*Report of the Sixty-ninth Scientific Session, Held in Philadelphia,
January 15, 1901.*

This meeting was called to order by the First Vice-President in the New Century Drawing Room, at 8.10 p. m. The subject was "Recent Tendencies in Free Political Institutions." The address of the evening was given by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, ex-Minister to Spain and General Secretary of the Peabody and Slater Educational Funds, and was listened to with rapt attention.

Dr. Curry, first of all, called attention to common misunderstandings about the meaning of democracy, pointing out that it does not mean that the people in the aggregate rule, nor even that a majority of the people rule. Governments are democratic only in contradistinction to hereditary monarchy and aristocracy. Pure democracy does not exist and on the basis of it government could not be created. Continuing, Dr. Curry said:

"Perhaps the most characteristic feature of our republics, that which most differentiates them from a democracy or absolutism, is that they are *representative*, and evidence of marked advance toward popular institutions is to be found in the parliaments in Germany, Austro-Hungary, Italy and Spain. The Boers grouped their grievances under one head: 'We ascribe all these evils to one cause, namely, the want of a representative government, refused to us by the executive authority of that same nation which regards this very privilege as one of its most sacred rights of citizenship, and that for which every true Briton is prepared to give his life.' It is sometimes said that representatives are chosen because the people in the aggregate cannot conveniently or possibly assemble together. They do not assemble because they ought not. A mass meeting, *ex vi termini*, excludes deliberation and implies passion, prejudice and hasty judgment. In strictness, the population of no country ever governs itself. It can only accept the governing act of representation. This political discovery of the English race, antidote to the fundamental infirmities of a pure democracy, to the despotism of the rabble, is an expedient for collecting peacefully and systematically the general voice, the national will, and formulating it into public acts. It limits the dangerous power and guards against the delusions of the populace and

substitutes experienced and capable men for those incapable of any judicial or legislative function. It seems incontestable that the wars of the last fifty years—notably the Crimean, the Franco-Austrian, the Franco-German, the Spanish-American, the Anglo-African—were principally due to the pressure brought to bear upon governments by popular passions. Democracy has been favorable to colonial passion, to war rather than to peace. The *vox populi* has no potency, no efficacy, except as uttered by and through representatives legally chosen in accordance with preordained and specific directions. The tendency of legislation, of popular assemblage, to violate written constitutions, usurp authority, transcend legitimate functions, is one of the perils which most menace our free institutions. . . . It cannot be too often repeated that a constitution violated is not a constitution abrogated. Our constitution, which elicited highest encomiums from De Tocqueville, Macintosh, Gladstone, Brice, Freeman and Maine, is sometimes unfavorably compared to the English, which being unwritten is flexible and readily adjusted to changing environments. One of the chiefest excellencies of our organic law is the easy method of amendment, which rests in certain determinate bodies—the constitution-making power—and it is revolution or usurpation to look elsewhere for the source of constitutional law. This peculiarly American provision is not averse to progress, does not mean that we are to be hindered by the swaddling-clothes of the last century. The question is by what process shall changes occur? What is resisted is that form and substance of the solemn compact can be changed by acquisition of territory, by the varying breath of popular opinion, by the discretion of a partisan majority in Congress. The only safe doctrine, as held by the framers of our federal system, is that the rights and powers of the United States Government are defined and limited by the federal constitution, and these rights and powers cannot be enlarged or diminished, except by an amendment in proper form to the instrument. . . .

"Political institutions are for the good of the governed. That is fundamental. Often there are conspiracies against the general interest which must be exposed and defeated. The preference of partial to general interest is the greatest of all public evils. One rule of universal application, a sure preventative, is, if you do not want to hurt me, put it out of your power to do so. The law should create no factitious inequalities, confer no partial advantages, should apply to all alike."

The speaker next called attention to certain retrogressive tendencies in England, especially to the injustice which has been shown to Ireland, the sectarianism in education, and the indifference to such questions as reforming the House of Lords, amending the electorate,

enlarging local government, disestablishing the church and abolishing favoritism in the aristocracy. Continuing, he said:

"We are vitally concerned with retrogressive tendencies or the decadence of Liberalism in our own country, using Liberalism in the words of Chamberlain before his defection, as the expression of the law of progress in politics, bringing changes into complete harmony with the needs and aspirations of the people. The most purblind partisan can hardly deny that power is passing rapidly from the states to the Central government, and that the national maelstrom, in its wide and resistless sweep, is absorbing powers which by our sagacious fathers were most carefully guarded against such extinction. For nothing did they make such vigorous efforts as in behalf of state governments as an essential part of our complex system. Centralization diminishes the importance of and love for the state. We forget that the states protect the most sacred and valued relations of life, and when we degrade them to provinces or assimilate them to counties, we are departing from home rule, local self-government, and the principles and practices of the purer days of the republic. It is sought to turn divorces over to Congress, thus transferring state jurisdiction over property questions to the federal government. Mobs are to be suppressed by the armies of the United States. Formerly states offices were magnified and federal offices sometimes declined. John Hancock, as governor of Massachusetts, disputed for precedence with George Washington, the President. John Jay resigned the chief justiceship of the Supreme Court to be governor of New York. Two Pinckneys of South Carolina, Tucker of Virginia, Livingston of New York, Walker and Smith of Alabama, declined positions on the Supreme Bench. Now position and preferment are sought on the claim of services to a national party. The strengthening of the national government is always to the benefit of organized interests, of concentrated wealth, at the expense of the states as civil organisms and of the people at large. . . .

"Professor Reinsch, in his admirable book on the 'World's Politics,' says that the cause of good government suffers when public attention is centered on national glory abroad, and less thought and energy are kept for the regulation of home affairs. Colonial questions, foreign wars—despite arbitration conferences, militarism—absorbing every penny that taxation can be made to yield, territorial expansion, so absorb energies and engross the time of the executive and the legislature that social and internal legislation becomes less urgent and adequate measures are not devised for great evils. Exertions for social betterment and purer methods in politics have already sustained impairment from this excessive interest in foreign affairs. . . .

"Strong as are these tendencies I am not a pessimist, not a prophet of evil, certainly have not despaired of free institutions. I fully believe in the success and welfare of our country and in its broad and beneficent influence upon the world in the twentieth century. Our patriotic and popular Chief Magistrate recently proclaimed in this city 'Liberty has not lost but gained in strength.' I have no doubt myself of his sincere and faithful purpose to make good that hopeful declaration. Our relations to Cuba and Porto Rico are not altogether of our choosing, but our responsibilities for good government, civil and religious liberty, wise and beneficent laws, must be met and can only be met by holding them as constituent parts of our country, under the same constitution and the same flag. The loss of popular liberty would be a catastrophe too serious not to be averted at any cost. The agencies, preventive and curative, are too many and powerful to allow the threatened perils to befall us. We have as aids the irrepressible energy of civil and religious liberty, useful training in self-government, the omnipotence of the people when aroused from lethargy and impelled by a strong conviction, a lively sense of personal responsibility, a well-grounded hope of larger achievements for freedom and humanity, the inspiration which springs from free schools for all the people, electors beginning to think and act for themselves with more and more enlightenment against demagogism, and Christianized society, vitalizing motives and deciding questions not on Utopian altruism or Machiavellian selfishness, but according to the highest moral standards. Education is a debt due to posterity from the present generation. The most effective way to make popular government a beneficent fact and influence is to lift the masses, all the citizenship, to higher moral and intellectual altitudes. It is character, not institutions, which makes good citizenship. A government whose citizens are ignorant, base, venal or corrupt, is not far away from anarchy or despotism. With these and other helpful influences wrong tendencies may be counteracted, and what has been imperfectly done may be carried on to a better consummation. This government of ours, model of all republics, grandest achievement of all political wisdom, a constitution rightly interpreted in its unity capable of extension over the whole of North America, inspiration and hope for all peoples struggling for liberty, has in itself the seeds of fruitage for the healing of the nations."

Following Dr. Curry's address Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the American *Review of Reviews*, spoke in most complimentary terms of Dr. Curry's generous and unstinted labor for the public good, saying that "it is the men who believe in things, and who take stock in the future, that really care enough to fight valiantly for the preservation

and transmission of whatever may be worthy in our own institutional heritage." He, therefore, admitted the value of most of Dr. Curry's criticism but stated that he believed, nevertheless, in the value and in the reality of those social phenomena that men sum up under the general word "progress." He said: "I believe that we live in a world that has been appreciably growing better for a good while past, and that continues to improve; and I also think that there are far better days ahead for the average man. I have never found it possible to believe very deeply in the superior few. Far from holding that the mass of men exists for the sake of the development of the exceptionally superior person, I take it that the superior person is merely a useless accident except as he devotes his more perfect intelligence—or the finer powers that go with his sound and symmetrical manhood—to the practical benefit of his fellow-citizens at large.

"It is a mere quibble to say that there is no such thing as the 'average man,' and that average progress is a fallacy rather than a concrete fact. It is, however, to be noted that what we may call progress is by zigzag rather than by direct lines. Thus in a given period in a given community there may be great progress in ordinary social self-control,—the settling down of the community, the acquisition of the habit of order." Mexico was cited as an illustration. Other illustrations showing the improvement in the economic condition of the average man were quoted. It was claimed that in spite of the disappointment at the result of constitutional liberalism in many countries that not enough attention has been paid to the influence which the spirit of popular institutions has exercised upon both the aims and the methods of institutional life and work in countries where the forms of popular self-government have not been fully adopted. The very considerable progress in Russia in wholesome local life, in improved agriculture, in education, and in the average effectiveness of the units of population, was cited to substantiate this point. In reference to Germany, Dr. Shaw said that the Germans are a great family, aristocratic institutions counting for less in reality than in form. He cited many illustrations of popular progress, and, continuing, said: "Thus, when I go into a German city and find a high development of sanitary administration in the interest of the whole community, an educational system marvelously adapted to the practical needs of the people, and a system of public charity more comprehensive and satisfactory than anywhere else in the world, I say to myself 'Surely, these things and many others like them are the tangible evidence of a great and real progress of the people;' and since the people are thus making progress, can they not be trusted to take

care of themselves as against that possible day when imperial tendencies may seem to threaten the general good?

"My point merely is that if those free and equal political institutions, which were the dream of the German patriots of '48, have indeed fallen far short of realization in Germany, there has been in another way a splendid and truly popular social development; and in keeping with this development of popular life there has come about a real transformation in the spirit of higher institutions of government even while they have retained mediæval forms of nomenclature.

"Thus the institution of monarchy has been retained in England, as Dr. Curry has well shown, solely because it has changed its essential character and has recognized the necessity of its keeping a hold upon the public conscience by its constant regard for the public welfare. I should be in a false position if I became even for a moment an apologist for the English aristocratic system. I have not only no arguments to advance for the continued existence of the House of Lords, but I have never read or heard what seemed to me even a plausible excuse for the retention of that constitutional anomaly; nor do I regard its retention as chiefly due to British ingrained conservatism or reverence for things ancient. I make no reference to individuals in either case, but only to political institutions, when I say that I have no more respect for the British House of Lords as a fixed institution than for the American Tammany Hall as a fixed institution. The higher the personal intelligence and personal character of individuals making up a favored hereditary caste, the more glaring is the inconsistency of their firm retention of privilege. I agree, therefore, with all that Dr. Curry has said in his allusions to the higher structure of the British Government. There is no government in the world of which I have so poor an opinion, measuring it, of course—in the historical spirit—by what would seem to have been the possibilities of constitutional evolution in England—and I need not say again that I have no reference to the individuals who make up the government." Dr. Shaw, nevertheless, called attention to the fact that town government in England is representative and popular in its structure and method, and that here also there are signs of popular progress. In reference to imperialism, both in England and in America, Dr. Shaw spoke as follows: "Certainly we do not live in a time especially favorable to the creation of small independent political sovereignties. On the other hand it seems to me that we do not live in a period that shows a dangerous tendency towards the extinction of real political liberties. There has been both excitement and anxiety, however well suppressed, in the recent discussions at Havana, for instance, having to do with all these matters. Yet it would be impossible for the

United States to exercise despotic government over Cuba; and plainly the practical danger that confronts the Cubans for the next twenty years is not too little freedom from the general oversight of the United States, but just the opposite. Hawaii as shown by the recent election, is already entering upon a far higher measure of actual freedom in the exercise of popular self-government than at any period or any moment heretofore in the history of that group of islands. As for the Philippines, the only possible opportunity that they have ever had.—in any epoch or period from which history even slightly withdraws the veil, for the establishment of free political institutions, has been the chance offered to them through the fact of the general sovereignty of the United States. Far from withholding from them any measure of political freedom that could have any bearing upon their actual well-being, the eagerness of our government to thrust free institutions upon these people who have never by experience known anything about them, has had a semi-humorous and a semi-pathetic aspect." Concluding Dr. Shaw said: "The expansion of our own territorial jurisdiction in the past, far from causing a reversion to systems that disregard human rights and freedom, has had results visible in the creation of the great free commonwealths erected in our annexed territory from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. And I think that like results are now to be seen in the new government of Hawaii; in that of Porto Rico; in the code soon to become law for the self-government of Alaska; and in the tedious but creditable work of assimilating the Indian Territory. May we not hope that the determination of President McKinley to establish modern self-government in the Philippines may also show encouraging results in a not very distant future ?

"After all, good men must in due time make good communities under appropriate modes of government; and in the wise education of children lies the great hope for future political freedom."

Dr. James T. Young, of the University of Pennsylvania, was called upon to close the discussion. He pointed out the natural development of the United States through the concentration of industries to the centralization of power in fewer hands. He attributed this to purely natural causes due in part to the improved means of communication, both intellectual and material, between the people of the United States resident in different parts of the country. He pointed also to certain tendencies to a world-wide extension of this concentration of power, citing as an illustration the successes attending the organization of the National Postal Union.

He also distinguished between administrative centralization, in which the central government actually exercises all power directly,

and central administrative control, in which the local governmental bodies exercise power in the supervision of the central authorities. The speaker claimed that central control over local activity was not open to the same objections as centralization. Where local bodies exist, even though they may be controlled by central authorities, the citizen is given considerable opportunity for political training and education by his activity in the local government. Where they do not exist the opportunity for political education is limited. His main thesis was that our attitude toward this tendency should not be one of hostility but rather of welcome.

Report of the Annual Business Meeting of the Academy.

The annual business meeting was held in the lower hall of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in accordance with the provisions of the by-laws, on the third Monday in January: to wit, January 21, 1901, at 4 p. m. It was a well-attended and enthusiastic gathering of those interested in the conduct of the affairs of the Academy. The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, the treasurer's report accepted and ordered filed, and the report of the board of directors of the Academy during the calendar year 1900 was read and discussed. The report of the directors called attention to the fact that the membership of the Academy remained at about the same high figure as at the same date last year. Attention was also called to the need of better housing facilities for the Academy's work, especially for its library. The meetings of the year were reviewed and attention was called to the publications of the Academy. Six numbers of the *ANNALS*, comprising two volumes, aggregating 1,030 pages, and two supplements, of 208 pages and 72 pages respectively, were issued, in addition to which three bulletins containing announcements were also sent to members, making in all 1,340 pages of printed matter sent out to the members of the Academy during the year 1900. The report stated that "all of these publications were sent free to members and in addition each member is entitled to cards admitting four invited guests to each of the meetings of the Academy. It is possible to continue these privileges only through economical management and the maintenance of a large membership. This economical administration is secured through the fact that the whole conduct of the Academy's affairs, both in editorial and business matters, and in connection with our meetings, is a labor of love on the part of all concerned. There are no salaried officers; no compensation is paid to speakers; and only necessary clerical expenses in the conduct of the business and editorial work of the Academy and the traveling expenses of speakers and expenses for entertainment are paid for out of its treasury. In recog-

nition of this missionary spirit that has thus far characterized the work of the Academy, the directors feel that it is not unreasonable to expect that each member will endeavor to do his share to promote its interests and to extend its influence, and through personal effort to add to its membership such of his friends and acquaintances as he may think would be interested and willing to co-operate in its work or would profit by the privileges of membership. Several members have during the past year qualified as life members by paying one hundred dollars, which exempts them from all future assessments or dues. It is highly desirable that more members should take this step in order that the work of the Academy may be put upon a solid basis. The money from life-membership fees is permanently invested. The report also showed that the accounts of the Academy had been audited by professional auditors and found correct. The securities representing permanent invested funds have a par value of \$5,000, but their market value is somewhat above that amount. They are yielding over 6 per cent interest. The expenses of the last annual meeting and the cost of publication of the supplemental volume containing a report of that meeting and the addresses then delivered were met through the sale of this volume and through contributions to a special fund.

The Academy has sustained through death during the past year the loss of an unusually large number of members, many of whom were men of exceptional ability as leaders of life and thought in their respective communities. The following list is as complete as it is possible to make it from the records of this office; notices should be sent of any omissions in the list: H. H. Aldrich, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. William Bishop, Salina, Kan.; Dr. J. M. Da Costa, Philadelphia; Dr. F. Humphreys, New York City; Dr. Vincent John, Innsbruck, Austria; Oswald Ottendorfer, New York City; Frederick Meredin Peterson, San Francisco, Cal.; John Polson, West Mount, Paisley, Scotland; Charles Pratt, Toledo, Ohio; H. W. Reed, San Nicolas del Oro, Mexico; A. J. Rooks, Sommerville, Tenn.; Matthew Semple, Philadelphia; Thomas G. Shearman, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Professor Henry Sidgwick, Cambridge, England; Henry Villard, New York City; Dr. Charles Voorhees, New Brunswick, N. J.; Isaiah Wears, Philadelphia; Oren W. Weaver, Washington, D. C.; Hon. William L. Wilson, Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.

The term of office of three directors expired, to wit: Dr. Roland P. Falkner, Chief of the Bureau of Public Documents, Washington, D. C.; Professor Leo S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Stuart Wood, of Philadelphia. These three gentlemen were re-elected for a term of three years. The summary of the Treasurer's Report as prepared by the auditors is as follows:

Synopsis of Cash Account for Year Ended December 31, 1900.

<i>Balance:</i>	January 1, 1900, as per last year's report	\$1,884 96
<i>Receipts:</i>	Annual subscriptions	7,119 20
	Life membership	300 00
	Special contributions	650 00
	Sales of publications, etc.	2,148 63
	Income from investments	320 00
	Interest on deposits	37 24
		————— \$12,460 03
<i>Payments:</i>	Clerk-hire and stenographers	\$1,651 33
	Printing, stationery, etc.	6,439 99
	Office expenses, postage, etc.	1,087 55
	Advertising	75 90
	Expenses of meetings:	
	Rent	\$130 00
	Invitations, etc.	176 00
	Refreshments	250 50
	Traveling expenses of speakers	176 08
	Miscellaneous	182 20
		————— 914 78
		————— \$10,169 55
<i>Balance:</i>	December 31, 1900, viz.:	
	In Mortgage Trust Co., Penna.	\$1,192 34
	In Centennial National Bank	836 23
	At Academy Office	61 91
	With A. S. Harvey, Banker, London	200 00
		————— 2,290 48
		————— \$12,460 03

The accounts of the Academy were audited and found correct by Messrs. Lybrand, Ross Brothers and Montgomery, certified public accountants, Philadelphia.

The report of the board of directors was discussed and many helpful suggestions offered by the members of the Academy present. There was a general feeling of satisfaction at the prosperous condition of the affairs of the Academy. A vote of thanks to the officers and directors and to the ladies of the reception committee for their services during the year was unanimously adopted. Such hearty appreciation as that manifested in this meeting and that displayed in

the following quotations from two letters received immediately after the meeting, is ample reward to those who have been charged with the conduct of the Academy's affairs. One who has been a member of the Academy from near the beginning of its organization writes: "Please permit me to say that the uniform kindness I have received from the officers of the Academy in reply to requests for information has deeply impressed my heart and endeared them to me. They have spared no labor or trouble to render me the desired assistance." Another member, of almost equally long standing, writes: "The work of the Academy is certainly most successful, satisfactory and advancing and I extend to you my personal appreciation, etc."

Election of officers.—At the meeting of the board of directors following the annual business meeting, the board was reorganized for the work of the year and officers elected. A communication from the president of the Academy, Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Chicago, asking that his name be not considered for re-election, was read. After many expressions of regret, in which every member of the board present shared, that Professor James felt himself compelled to decline to serve longer in an active official capacity, the board proceeded to an election of officers, which resulted in the unanimous election of Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, first vice-president and acting president since 1898, as president of the Academy; Professor Leo S. Rowe, who had served during the past year as secretary of the Academy, as first vice-president; and Professors Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, and Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, as second and third vice-presidents respectively. Mr. Stuart Wood was re-elected treasurer, and Dr. James T. Young, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is known to the readers of the publications of the Academy as Editor of the Book Department of the ANNALS, was elected secretary; Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff was re-elected counsel; and Professor John L. Stewart, of Lehigh University, was re-elected librarian.

Correction of typographical error in the January Annals.—The editors of the ANNALS beg to call the attention of our members to a typographical error in the January ANNALS in the signature to the article by the Chinese Minister, His Excellency Wu Ting-fang. The words "Chinese Embassy, Washington," on page 14, should read "Chinese Legation, Washington." Also, on page 9, in line 9 from the bottom of the page, the phrase "with a few exceptions" should be inserted after the word "but."